

Complete Text of Castro's Speech on UN Inspection

[The following is the complete text of Prime Minister Fidel Castro's Nov. 1 radio and television speech reporting to the Cuban people on the talks with UN Acting Secretary General U Thant and setting forth the Cuban government's attitude toward proposals of international inspection on its territory.]

Luis Gómez Wangiemert, the moderator — What can you tell

us, Major Castro, about U Thant's visit to Havana?

Dr. Castro — The conversations with U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, lasted two days. It seemed to me that the best way to inform the people was to take down a copy of the conversations. Naturally, the following must be taken into consideration: that on the first day we spoke about matters of general interest in which the position of

our country was defined. Then, on the second day, he wanted to make statements of a confidential nature.

Then I asked him whether he had any objections to the fact that a shorthand transcript of the conversations had been taken down where the position of the Cuban Revolutionary Government is stated as to the purpose of his efforts in Cuba; whether he had any objections to my making them public.

He agreed. And we promised him also that the points, the questions, and the matters of a confidential nature which he wanted to make and which he did not want to make public should be brought to our attention. We were not going to label them as such. He should do this and we promised that for the time being we would not make them public.

Nevertheless, we have all the transcripts of all that was dis-

cussed. I am going to read the shorthand transcripts of the conversation held at the Presidential Palace at 3:10 P.M. on October 30, 1962.

I am going to read the names of the persons speaking.

[At this point Dr. Castro began reading the transcript.]

"U Thant — There is a point which I would like to make. In my conversations with both the

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THE MILITANT

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Meredith Faces New Outbursts At Mississippi U.

By Edward Slater

While the Kennedy administration has been doing everything possible to end federal intervention in Mississippi and to whitewash the racist violence there, segregationists have become bolder in their efforts to drive James Meredith from the University of Mississippi.

On Oct. 29, a group of racist students gathered outside the cafeteria, shouting insults at the 29-year-old Negro student and hurling bottles and firecrackers at federal troops and marshals. The previous Wednesday, a number of students had attempted to block Meredith's entry into the Student Union.

A bottle, thrown through the window of a car in which Meredith was riding Oct. 30, cut a federal marshal. The next night a soldier on guard duty was injured by a firecracker hurled in his face. Military police searched a dormitory and found an M-1 rifle, tear-gas grenades and a large supply of fireworks.

Other incidents point up the dangers still faced by Meredith and Negro citizens throughout the South. The Justice Department is reportedly investigating the abduction of a Negro in Jackson by five white men who beat him into unconsciousness in a nearby federal preserve. They were said to have taken him for a member

of the NAACP "trying to get Meredith into Ole Miss."

In southwest Georgia, where the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is conducting a voter-registration project, three SNCC field secretaries were arrested Oct. 27. The three students, Jack Chatfield, Larry Rubin, and Carver Nebblett, had gone to a grocery store which serves as an unofficial community center in Bronwood, a small community in Terrell County, to speak to local Negro citizens. At the request of the Negro manager of the store, they left, but returned some time later at which time they were served with a warrant for trespassing signed by the store's white owner, and taken to Dawson City Jail.

Reports indicated that Nebblett, 19, a student at Southern Illinois University, and the only Negro among the three, had been handcuffed and his wrists slightly injured. Chatfield, 20, a student from Trinity College, Conn., was shot twice in the arm last August when nightriders sprayed a Dawson home with bullets. Rubin is a 20-year-old student from Antioch College in Ohio.

SNCC, which began its southwest Georgia voter-registration project a year ago, is also conducting a registration drive in Mississippi.

Kennedy Threatening New Anti-Cuba Moves

By Fred Halstead

Nov. 7 — The United States government continues to exert military and economic pressure on Cuba in the hope of breaching Cuban sovereignty. The threat of invasion still hangs over the Caribbean island but, for the time being, the crisis centers around President Kennedy's insistence that an international team be admitted to Cuba to inspect the dismantling of strategic weapons which the Soviet government has agreed to remove.

In spite of Moscow's conciliatory moves, Kennedy is trying to maintain a crisis situation by insisting on this demand, to which the Cuban government has refused to yield.

The position of the Cuban revolutionaries on this point — as expressed by Fidel Castro in his Nov. 1 speech (the text appears in this issue) — is simple: The United States, which has been openly preparing a military attack against Cuba, has no legal or moral right to tell Cuba how she shall be armed for defense against that attack and therefore no right to demand any inspection of any part of Cuba's armament or territory.

Behind this legal argument lies the profound point that the abrogation by Cuba of part of her sovereignty to an international agency, at the insistence of Washington, could give the U.S. an entering wedge into Cuba's internal affairs. An example of how that wedge might be used was indicated Nov. 5 when the U.S. protested to the Soviet Union that Soviet-made IL-28 bombers in Cuba were not being removed.

Kennedy originally brought the world to the brink of nuclear war, demanding the removal of intermediate range missiles from Cuba. Khrushchev agreed to dismantle and remove them. Now Kennedy wants bombers removed. If the Cubans had granted international supervision of the dismantling of armaments Kennedy deems "offensive," they could be faced with attempts by Kennedy to declare more and more types of arms "offensive."

The London Co-operative Society, a branch of the Labour Party, adopted a resolution deplored "the reckless action of President Kennedy in ordering a naval blockade of Cuba."

The Movement for Colonial Freedom, sponsored by a galaxy of Labour MP's and others, scored "the illegal act of the United States in clamping a blockade on Cuba, thereby bringing the world to the brink of war."

Many new forms of protest arose demonstrating the breadth and scope of the revulsion of the British people to the State Department's actions. Some 600 students at Chichester High School for Girls in Sussex decided to go without dinner one day this week as a protest. Forty boys and girls of Midhurst Grammar School, Sussex, refused to attend lessons, sent a petition to Prime Minister Macmillan, and marched through Midhurst to the war memorial where they stood in silence.

Seven hundred Manchester students packed a meeting to applaud Sir Andrew Murray, vice-president of the Scottish Liberal Party, as he said the Americans had

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PREMIER FIDEL CASTRO greets UN Secretary General U Thant in Havana. Thant presented without success proposals to the Cuban Premier for UN inspection teams in Cuba.

Pro-Cuba Rallies Abroad — Exclusive 'Militant' Reports

LONDON — In defiance of government refusal of Trafalgar Square in the heart of London for a demonstration, several thousand people packed into the Square Oct. 27, to protest the threat of war arising from U.S. government actions against Cuba.

Sporadic clashes with the police and attempts of many to speak in the Square resulted in 150 arrests. The demonstration was organized by the Committee of 100, headed by the eminent philosopher Bertrand Russell.

Another London demonstration

of 500 organized by the British Peace Committee and the Youth Peace Campaign marched from Soho Square to the U.S. Embassy to hand in a message of protest about Cuba. Glasgow, Scotland, saw 1,000 demonstrators march in protest against America's Cuban policy. Forty were arrested during a Committee of 100 demonstration in Albert Square, Manchester.

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Getting its foot in Cuba's door via international inspection would be an important advance and precedent for Washington. It is trying to achieve this through two kinds of pressure — direct and indirect. The direct pressure against Cuba consists of continued buildup of U.S. troops and armaments in the Florida Keys; continuance of the selective blockade and threats to extend it to commercial cargoes like oil; continued flights by U.S. planes over Cuban territory; and the stopping of shipments to Cuba by commercial and diplomatic pressures on other nations and their shipowners. The indirect pressure is being attempted via the Soviet government. Washington, whose excuse for trying to crush the Castro regime has been the charge that

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The First Casualty — Truth

By Art Preis

... The first casualty of every international crisis is truth. As official tension mounts, official accuracy declines and it becomes patriotic to mislead the enemy by evasion, distortion and outright falsehood."

That is what James Reston, distinguished Washington political analyst of the *New York Times*, wrote in his column dated Oct. 24, just two days after President Kennedy's proclamation of the Cuba blockade. This column was published in the *Times* of Oct. 26.

Within a few days, virtually the whole U.S. capitalist press, from ultra-right Republican to liberal Democratic, was loudly protesting the crude manipulation, censorship and bare-faced falsification of the facts about the Cuban crisis

by the Kennedy administration.

"Filtered Crisis News," is the headline of a Nov. 1 editorial in the *N.Y. World-Telegram*. This leading newspaper of the Scripps-Howard chain, rabid in its open incitation to an invasion of Cuba, nevertheless was moved by the flagrant infringement of its news-gathering rights to declare:

"Much of the news from U.S. government sources dealing with the Cuban crisis has been filtered and sieved and spoon fed to the public."

"The administration is still pursuing a policy that denies reporters access to any information except that which government officials, in their wisdom, think the public should know."

A Washington dispatch in the *N.Y. Times* of Nov. 2 disclosed that

rigorous restrictions on the dissemination of all news and information to the press had been instituted in the State Department and Defense Department, the two agencies most directly associated with the war moves against Cuba.

These regulations require all officials and employees of these departments to report all contacts with newsmen, their names, the times and places of the contacts, what papers or agencies the reporters work for and the substance of all remarks.

The *Times* dispatch emphasizes that both departmental orders "appear to have a common origin: President Kennedy's displeasure with the amount of information that has appeared in some news-

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The "Worker" Smears A Socialist Peace Ticket

By Harry Ring

The fact that the election campaign coincided with the Cuban crisis enabled Socialist Workers candidates to utilize the television and radio time made available by the campaign to speak out to wide audiences against Kennedy's monstrous brink-of-war moves to strangle the Cuban Revolution.

The most dramatic example of this was the half-hour radio and television speech by Carl Feingold, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New York, the night after Kennedy's announcement of the blockade of Cuba. Feingold denounced Kennedy's war moves against the USSR and Cuba and urged his audience to speak out for peace.

The SWP knew its stand would draw the fire of the reactionaries and that in the present climate its pro-Cuba views would not be popular with most of the electorate. (According to news reports, WPXI-TV claimed that 300 viewers protested Feingold's slashing attack on Kennedy.)

But it was a really sorry fact that in addition to the opposition from those who are anti-Soviet and anti-Cuba, the SWP was subjected to a smear attack by a section of the radical movement.

The Nov. 4 issue of the Worker, voice of the Communist Party, features an article by Mike Davidow which opens with the declaration that, "The Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party has been trying to pose as the 'peace alternative' in the N.Y. election." The article winds up with the astounding conclusion that the real alternative for anti-war voters is the Democratic ticket which is committed without qualification to the policies of John F. Kennedy, the man who just brought the world to the brink of nuclear destruction.

The Worker's stand in support of the Democrats is so indefensible (and so badly discredited by previous similar endorsements) that it isn't frankly and specifically stated. But any reader of voting age is assumed able to deduce from a series of tortured formulations that the best service he can



Brink-of-War Kennedy

render the cause of peace and socialism is to vote the straight Democratic ticket.

After strenuous efforts to prove that the SWP is not a genuine pro-peace alternative because it rejects the Communist Party's concept of "peaceful coexistence," Davidow asserts: "The fight for peace can at present be strengthened by giving a rebuff to the menace of Rockefeller (Mr. Imperialism) and his man Friday, Senator Jacob Javits." An editorial in the same issue discloses that "Gov. Rockefeller once again revealed his kinship with the war pack" during the crisis and that's why a big vote must be piled up against him.

The editorial argues against abstention in the elections. The paper is against voting for the SWP and has no use for the Socialist Labor Party or Conservatives. Therefore, the reader must deduce, the only way to pile up a vote against Rockefeller is by piling up a vote for his Democratic opponent, Morgenthau.

But Morgenthau's sole claim to distinction was that he enjoyed the unqualified support of brinkman Kennedy. However, that does not cut any ice with the Worker since, believe it or not, in its view Kennedy isn't the worst guy in the world either.

The very same issue of the Worker which brands the SWP's peace campaign as a fake tries to paint up Kennedy as not really responsible for his brink-of-war action. Most of Davidow's article is an attempted reply to a column by Tom Kerr in the Nov. 20 Militant about an earlier effort of the Worker, to depict Kennedy as seriously resisting demands for an attack on Cuba.

Kerry had discussed an editorial in the Oct. 16 Midweek Worker which lauded Kennedy for his election campaign attack on Senator Homer Capehart of Indiana who was calling for an immediate invasion of Cuba.

Kerry pointed out that the Worker's attempt to palm off Kennedy's demagogic as good coin was not the result of simple ignor-

ance but the direct product of the Communist Party's concept of "peaceful coexistence." His point is confirmed by Davidow's reply.

"It was correct then," writes Davidow, "to welcome any resistance to pressure for invasion of Cuba as it is now to welcome President Kennedy's pledge not to invade Cuba given in his message to Khrushchev."

One might ask this question: If the Worker simply wants to welcome any political declaration that at least sounds good why didn't it similarly laud Nixon's attack on Kennedy during the 1960 campaign when Kennedy was demanding a tougher policy on Cuba?

And if Kennedy was really "resisting pressure" at the time of his Oct. 13 attack on Capehart and not simply engaging in Nixon-like demagogic, how explain his Oct. 22 speech threatening to attack both the USSR and Cuba? And how explain his continuing warlike blockade of Cuba?

To explain away such obvious contradictions, the Worker would have us believe that Kennedy was more victim than criminal. The lead article in the Nov. 4 issue asserts: "The horrifying Cuban crisis of a week ago laid bare two power centers in Washington one in the White House, the other in the Pentagon." The article continues that "it was touch and go whether the world would be destroyed in a nuclear war because of orders by the Pentagon generals and admirals and their coalition partners among the ultra-Rights, the Republican leaders and Wall Street."

Absolving Kennedy

The purpose of this discovery of "two power centers" is to absolve Kennedy of his decisive responsibility for the crisis. You see, it really wasn't his idea. He merely yielded to right-wing pressure. And the article solemnly asserts, "The danger exists now that Kennedy may once more succumb to the pressure of the tiny minority of warmongers."

According to the Worker, the way to keep Kennedy from "succumbing" once again is to pile up a big vote for his party — a party that yields neither to the Republicans nor anyone else in its determination to destroy the Cuban Revolution.

In his attack on the SWP, Davidow accuses it of "McCarran slander" of the Communist Party. He further asserts that the SWP cannot possibly be for peace since it rejects the Communist Party version of "peaceful coexistence."

It ill-behooves vote-hustlers for the Democratic Party — which is persecuting the Communists under the McCarran Act — to hurl the charge of McCarranism against a socialist party that has consistently fought the witch hunters on all fronts.

And if disagreement with the CP version of "coexistence" puts you in the camp of the warmongers then both the Chinese and Cuban leaderships have to be put in that camp since they too have their differences with the CP on this score.

For example, in an interview last Jan. 16, Fidel Castro declared that "the politics of peaceful coexistence is coexistence between states. That does not mean coexistence between classes."

Support of the Democratic Party — which like the Republican Party represents the capitalist class — constitutes a prime example of the practice of "coexistence between classes" which Castro was polemicizing against. Marxists have traditionally called it a policy of political class collaboration. It is the kind of a policy that can only create illusions about cold warrior Kennedy and his party and thereby deal a blow to the struggle for peace.

THE NATIONAL

PICKET LINE

The Newspaper Guild, asking a wage increase and shorter hours, struck the country's largest-circulation newspaper — the *New York Daily News* — Nov. 1, at the start of the lucrative pre-Christmas advertising season. The test of a historic new unified bargaining strategy by the city's ten newspaper unions is on.

The publishers of the city's seven major dailies have traditionally dealt with the nine craft unions and the Guild — an industrial union whose membership consists largely of editorial employees — one by one, settling first with the weakest and making that the pattern. In 1958 the publishers announced a pact by which they would lock out all union members on all seven papers if, when one union struck one paper, other unions respected the picket line. This led to a 19-day lockout in December, 1958.

This time, before the contract dates began to expire, the ten unions held a joint mass meeting and announced plans for a joint strike strategy and the establishment of a daily paper by the unions in the event of a lockout. When the 1,100 Guild members struck the *News*, the 4,000 craft union members wouldn't cross the picket lines and the paper shut down. An attempt to print the *News* on another paper's press was abandoned, and as of Nov. 7 there was still no lockout on the other papers.

* * *

A labor official has been appointed by President Kennedy as window dressing for the communication satellite giveaway. Leonard Woodcock, a vice president of the United Auto Workers, has been named to the 13-man temporary board which will organize the Communications Satellite Corporation and head it until the big stockholders take over. The corporation's stock — as provided by Congress which passed the giveaway last August — will be allotted fifty-fifty to big communications corporations like American Telephone and Telegraph and for sale on the stock market.

The company gets the benefit of \$25 to \$35 billion in tax-paid space research. It will own and operate — for private profit — the U.S. part of an international communications system including AT & T's "Telstar."

Woodcock will rub shoulders on the board with five corporation lawyers, four industrialists, two bankers and a publisher.

* * *

The latest government figures available on auto production reveal the following effects of automation. In the first six months of this year, the auto companies produced eight per cent more cars and trucks with 11 per cent

fewer workers than in the first six months of 1957. That is, 302,000 more vehicles with 69,000 fewer workers.

The comparison with 1956 is more startling. First six months of 1956: 3.8 million vehicles with 656,000 workers. First six months of 1962: 4.3 million vehicles with 562,000 workers. That is, about 400,000 more vehicles with about 104,000 fewer workers.

* * *

A rift in the traditional unity of the labor bureaucracy behind the major candidates of the Democratic Party occurred in New York state around last week's election. With the Democrats not expected to win, a section of the union leaders, including Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, gave support to the Republican Rockefeller. Another section organized a committee for "the Morgenthau ticket and the Kennedy program." This committee was headed by National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran and representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Transport Workers Union and the Newspaper Guild.

* * *

The separate white and Negro locals of the American Federation of Musicians in Cleveland have merged after 52 years of separate autonomy. The AFM has a national policy of integration in the many areas where such separate locals exist. The musicians locals were not always separate, but became so around the turn of the century when the propagation of Jim-Crow in this country was at its height and when integrated bands and performances had virtually disappeared.

There has been resistance to the merger policy from some leaders of the Negro locals themselves, who fear that Negro musicians may not get a fair shake from a local with a white majority. In Cleveland, Negro Local 550 merged its 200 members with the 2,800-member Local 4, with assets pooled. "The intermingling of talents," said Local 550 President Franklyn Simpson, "will lead to higher standards of performance."

Castro Speaks On Unemployment

The text of the speech in which he contrasts Cuba's success in coping with unemployment with the inability of the U.S. to resolve the problem.

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Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Hear Wendell Phillips, California teacher fired for his socialist views, Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Hear folk singer Dave Van Ronk on Jazz: African Chants to the Modern Beat. Fri., Nov. 16, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

HOLD THE DATE. The New York School of Social Science will hold its annual Xmas Bazaar on Dec. 7 & 8 at 116 University Place.

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... Reports on Pro-Cuban Rallies Abroad

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brought on the present crisis by their own "folly and ignorance."

A "Hands Off Cuba" parade of 140 students and staff of the University appeared on Leicester street. The American consul in Birmingham was presented with a petition signed by 170 university students protesting against U.S. action. Some 70 students from King's College paraded with "Hands Off Cuba" placards through Newcastle. At a meeting they decided to set up a "Cuba Defense Committee."

First Phase of World War III

More than 80 members of the staff of Edinburgh University signed a letter to Prime Minister Macmillan urging him to dissociate Britain from both Russian arms for Cuba and the "precipitate and illegal" U.S. response. The prime minister, the letter said, must reject any suggestion that membership in NATO "automatically involves Britain" in the crisis. Sixty-five senior members of academic staffs in universities and research institutions in Britain subscribed to a statement which maintains that U.S. action "whatever the truth of President Kennedy's allegations, opens what threatens to be the first phase of World War III. At this moment of extreme crisis it is imperative for the people of Britain and for her Majesty's government to state in the plainest terms that they will refuse to be drawn into a world conflict on this issue."

COLOMBO, Ceylon — Under the aegis of the Committee for Solidarity with Cuba a demonstration was held Oct. 26 in front of the U.S. Embassy. Wielding clubs, the police made a brutal and unprovoked attack upon the perfectly peaceful demonstration. A large number were injured, 14 were hospitalized. Among them were Lanka Sama Samajist, (Trotskyist) leaders Bernard Soysa, Member of Parliament and Member of the Colombo Municipal Council, Chandra Gunesakara, Senator and Vice President of the Committee for Solidarity with Cuba, Edmund Samarakoddy, Member of Parliament, and D. S. Mallawarachchi, Member of the Colombo Municipal Council.

The LSSP and the Communist Party of Ceylon have demanded immediate action by the Prime Minister against police officials responsible for the brutality.

A public meeting, called by the Committee for Solidarity with Cuba on Oct. 30 in Colombo, to protest U.S. aggression against Cuba and police violence against demonstrators, was attended by

SLL and Newsletter Prominent in Protests

LONDON — The Oct. 27 issue of 'The Newsletter,' organ of the Socialist Labour League, carried the headline: "Say NO to Yankee War — Hands Off Cuba. Defend the USSR." The lead article by SLL General Secretary Gerry Healy asked:

"Are you ready for invasion of Cuba and nuclear war? The American imperialists have decided to risk one. They did not consult you; they did not even consult their allies in the Tory government. They have conspired behind the backs of all the human beings on this planet to take steps which may eventually lead to the end of life as we know it."

"Kennedy's blockade of Cuba is an act of brutal aggression against the Cuban and Soviet people which must be universally condemned and fought against by the international working class . . .

"We urge you to call factory and shop meetings to force the Labour and trade union leaders to call a one-day general strike."

"Get out on the streets and support every demonstration against war. Work to transform them into a mighty campaign to bring down the Tory government."

"Force [Labour Party head] Gaitskell to break off all relations with the Tories."

"If tens of thousands of British workers act along these lines in the coming weeks, it will be possible to call a halt to the suicidal plans of the imperialist madmen."

Members of the Trotskyist SLL and 'Newsletter' supporters were among the most active participants in the Trafalgar Square demonstration and march on Whitehall to Prime Minister Macmillan's temporary residence in the Admiralty there. SLLers distributed a pamphlet containing Cuban President Dorticos' Oct. 8 speech to the UN and an appeal to action against the war threat by SLL Secretary Healy.

some 10,000 people. The three speakers were LSSP leader N. M. Perera, CP leader Pieter Keuneman and MEP leader Robert Gunawardena. There was a complete work-stoppage by longshoremen for the day and partial stoppages in other industries. The Ceylon Mercantile Union has

... The First Casualty—Truth

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papers and broadcasts in recent weeks."

So great has been the press outcry at what is an obvious attempt to compel newsmen and government officials and employees to disclose only what Kennedy and his top agents want disclosed and at the time they say, that the House Subcommittee on Government Information, headed by Rep. John E. Moss (D-Calif.) has initiated an investigation into the administration's handling of news in the Cuban crisis. Moss is reported incensed by the Pentagon memorandum, signed by Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, requiring the monitoring of all statements made to newsmen.

Sylvester spilled the beans about the administration's real censorship policy when he blandly told correspondents Oct. 30: "News generated by actions of the government as to content and timing is part of the arsenal of weaponry that a president has in the

called a protest stoppage at 3 p.m. Nov. 2 and some other workplaces are expected to follow suit.

SANTIAGO, Chile — The day following Kennedy's speech announcing the blockade of Cuba Clotario Blest, former president of CUT, the Chilean federation of labor, and grand old man of the Chilean labor movement, led a march in defense of the Cuban Revolution through the streets of Santiago. The march, organized by the Movement of Defense and Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, was attacked by police and Blest and 30 others were arrested. Among these was the Trotskyist leader, Luis Vitale. They were later released.

Further street demonstrations occurred Oct. 24 and the secretary of the student organization at the Technical University was arrested.

Mass meetings against the blockade were held by the CUT throughout the country on Oct. 25. In Santiago, 15,000 workers attended a rally where CUT leaders spoke in defense of Cuba. From this meeting, Blest led another march which was attacked by the police using tear gas. The old man was again arrested.

The attorney general of Santiago subsequently invoked the Internal Security Law against the Movement of Revolutionary Forces (MFR) of which Blest is president and Vitale is secretary, as well as against the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyist). Blest is still in jail and Vitale is in hiding.

The CUT resolved at its congress last August to call a general strike if the U.S. militarily attacked Cuba. The MFR is calling upon the CUT to prepare to invoke this resolution.

By R. Bently

VANCOUVER, B.C., Canada — Five thousand University of British Columbia students crammed Main Hall Oct. 24 for the biggest meeting ever held on campus when the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and the Student Christian Movement presented speakers on Cuba and peace.

All five speakers — faculty members — denounced the U.S. for blockading Cuba and pushing the world to the brink of nuclear war. "If we survive this crisis," said Dr. Norman Epstein, "we must realize that none of the governments in the world is to be trusted . . . Are we prepared to leave our lives in the hands of people who will obey any order?"

Philosophy Professor Robert Rowan declared: "The extremity of the U.S. reaction to the missile build-up in Cuba is out of all proportion to the military significance. There has been a growing hysteria over the actions of Cuba . . . It is evident the United States, when the chips are down, are prepared to deal with situations with a frustrated military response . . ."

The audience cheered statements such as these. The students also eagerly snatched leaflets which were being distributed advertising a meeting by the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The city of Milan, in the industrial heartland of Italy, was paralyzed by a general strike on Oct. 30. The strike was called by the Milan Chamber of Labor in protest against the murder of a university student by police when they broke up pro-Cuba demonstrations the previous Saturday. While the strike was not supported by the Christian Democratic Italian Federation of Free Unions, it was almost total, stopping most factories by noon. This was followed shortly by a complete shutdown of municipal services.

See related story on page 4.

Boycott of U.S. Goods?

Claude Bourdet, editor of 'France Observateur,' issued a statement Oct. 25 strongly defending Cuba. Excerpts from his declaration, which is important as an indication of general liberal and left-wing sentiment in Western Europe, follow:

"For almost two months, we had been noting with surprise the mounting anxiety among liberal American circles over the attitude of Washington in relation to Cuba. Descriptions of the real situation, editorials calling on us to be on guard, warning brochures, have been published by newspapers and people who cannot be accused of any weakness in respect to Communism. It seemed to us that these fears were exaggerated . . . We now see that they were justified . . .

"We were the first here to find it regrettable that the Cuban Revolution did not sufficiently indicate its independence in relation to the Soviet bloc. In the very interests of the Latin-American revolution, it would have been a hundred times preferable for Cuba to evolve towards socialism completely autonomously. But in the final analysis who is guilty? . . .

"How can one maintain that in the fact of these threats [incendiary attacks on Cuban crops by Florida-based planes, enlistment of Batistianos in forces trained by the CIA, the attempted invasion of April 1961, banning of Cuban sugar from the U.S., pressure on other nations and their merchants to embargo Cuba] from such a powerful state, Castro should not turn toward the USSR, alone capable of checking the United States? How can one think that the Cuban Communist Party would not seek to take advantage of the situation — although, as experience

demonstrates, Castro is perfectly capable of putting it in its place. There is only one source responsible for that evolution: the United States. In any case, this does not at all give Kennedy the right to put us on the verge of a world war . . .

"But let us assume that they [Kennedy's charges about missile bases in Cuba] are correct. For 15 years the U.S. has encircled the Soviet Union with a belt of bases, at first of nuclear-bomb carrying planes, and today of missiles. Isn't Turkey as close to the USSR as Cuba is to the U.S.? Are the Polaris submarines in the Arctic Ocean hunting for seals? Against these bases which were eminently 'defensive' as everyone knows since the USSR had not yet achieved nuclear and missile strength, the Soviet Union replied with protests, diplomatic notes, often disagreeable language — but never with an order to withdraw them.

"We ourselves are for the dismantling of all the bases, whether they be American or Soviet, and for the liberation of all the 'satellites,' whether they belong to capitalist or Communist powers. Only neutralism and acceptance of what concerns the independence of others can dissolve the blocs and assure a durable peace. But today it is necessary to cry out a warning. It is not some American interests that are involved, but the planet on which all of us live. It is necessary to organize a vast campaign in defense of Cuba, of pressure against the U.S., going as far as boycott of American products, in all the Western and independent countries. And the circles which cannot be accused of any complicity in Soviet politics must be in the front ranks. The liberty of a small country is threatened. But also our own lives."



James P. Cannon's new book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, has arrived and is ready for the lucky individual who sells the most subs in our subscription campaign. The winner of the sub campaign will get an autographed copy of this book which is an invaluable addition to the library of Marxism. As usual, Cannon not only teaches but has the wonderful knack of making learning a pleasure. Start looking in next week's column for individuals who are among the high scorers.

Now is the time for all *Militant* salesmen to step up their work. Remember there are two prizes besides the one mentioned above. Second prize will be a bound volume of the eight-page *Militant*, which will include all the speeches of Fidel Castro reprinted this past year. Third prize will be a bound volume of the *International Socialist Review* from 1957-60. Each will afford its winner a clear socialist analysis of this world we live in.

With only three weeks left in the *Militant* drive for 1,000 new readers we want to call our scoreboard to the attention of those cities which remain far behind their goal. Unless they make a determined effort to get their share

Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Subs | % |
|------------------|-------|------|-----|
| Indiana | 10 | 23 | 230 |
| Detroit | 100 | 119 | 119 |
| Connecticut | 30 | 27 | 90 |
| Baltimore | 10 | 9 | 90 |
| Boston | 25 | 21 | 84 |
| Oakland-Berkeley | 75 | 50 | 66 |
| Milwaukee | 25 | 15 | 60 |
| San Diego | 30 | 18 | 60 |
| Newark | 15 | 9 | 60 |
| New York | 150 | 78 | 52 |
| Twin Cities | 100 | 47 | 47 |
| Philadelphia | 75 | 24 | 32 |
| San Francisco | 75 | 22 | 29 |
| Chicago | 90 | 20 | 22 |
| St. Louis | 10 | 2 | 20 |
| Seattle | 75 | 14 | 18 |
| Akron-Cleveland | 75 | 13 | 17 |
| Los Angeles | 150 | 25 | 16 |
| Denver | 50 | 2 | 4 |
| General | 30 | 39 | 130 |
| Total | 1,200 | 577 | 48% |
| (through Nov. 6) | | | |

THE MILITANT

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Monday, November 12, 1962

A Blow Against Secret Diplomacy

In Fidel Castro's speech of Nov. 1, which is translated elsewhere in this issue, the leadership of the Cuban Revolution has again taken a step from which important lessons can be learned. In making public the transcript of Premier Castro's discussions with UN Secretary General U Thant, the Cuban revolutionary government has dealt a blow to the almost universal practice of secret diplomacy.

The government of the United States prefers to carry on its diplomatic negotiations behind a cloak of secrecy, to withhold from the American people the nature of its dealings with other powers. This practice serves to hide the fact that its alliances and treaties are not made in the interests of the American people and to keep from them the reactionary aims and humiliating conditions which it seeks to impose on colonial peoples.

In conducting its diplomatic moves, Washington is dealing with the lives and welfare of the American people, indeed of the people of the entire world. Commitments and demands made by the government in secret and without the knowledge of the public have time and again led the American people into wars which they did not want and about which they were not consulted. The American people have a right to demand that such grave decisions not be made by a handful of men behind closed doors.

Let the people know what decisions are being made! Especially at this time the full texts of all communications between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev and their go-betweens should be made public; similarly with the secret dealings carried on with the NATO and OAS nations. These negotiations involve not only the fate of the Cuban people and the colonial peoples of the world, but also the fate of the vast majority of Americans, who have no stake in the aggressive policies of our Wall Street-dominated government.

...New Moves Against Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

Cuba is a Soviet pawn, now openly insists that the Kremlin force Castro to be a Soviet pawn.

A Nov. 6 Associated Press dispatch declares: "The U.S. has told the Russians they cannot use difficulties with Fidel Castro as an excuse for not carrying out Premier Khrushchev's pledge to remove offensive weapons from Cuba under international inspection. The Soviets in turn have passed word that Khrushchev's promise still stands. But they have pointed to the difficulties posed by Cuban Prime Minister Castro. This was described by authoritative sources today as the essence of the secret U.S.-Soviet talks being carried on in New York . . ."

The authoritative editorial columns of the *New York Times* contained the following on Nov. 6: "Inspection and verification are the real nub of the Cuban problem. Premier Khrushchev in his exchange with President Kennedy originally agreed to verification by United Nations personnel. This is the minimum to which he must be held, regardless of Castro's objections."

Just what U.S. officials have in mind in putting this kind of pressure on the Soviet government was revealed by Edwin C. Martin, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American affairs in a TV interview Nov. 4. Martin was asked whether he thought the Soviet government would have trouble convincing Castro to get along with inspection. He replied with imperialist candor that 80% of Cuba's trade is with Soviet-bloc nations and that if the U.S. had that kind of hold over a country's economy, it would have no trouble getting compliance.

The Soviet government sent Anastas I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier, to Havana. He stopped over in New York Nov. 1 for discussions with acting UN Secretary

General U Thant and John J. McCloy, head of Kennedy's special negotiating team on the Cuban crisis. He was still in New York when Castro made his speech.

A story from Washington in the Nov. 2 *N.Y. Times* says: "The impression here was that Dr. Castro deliberately went on the air last night to announce his anti-inspection stand before Mr. Mikoyan's scheduled arrival in Havana later today. It was viewed as an attempt to confront Mr. Mikoyan with an announced decision."

Mikoyan is now in his sixth day of discussion with the Cuban revolutionary leaders and no results of the meeting have yet been announced.

In China, demonstrations which started Nov. 3, after reports of Castro's speech of Nov. 1 were published, continued. These mass meetings and marches in defense of Cuba have involved millions of persons in several Chinese cities. Newsman estimated the crowds in the Peking demonstrations Nov. 4 and 5 at a half million persons each day.

A November 5 Reuters dispatch from Peking says: "Some East European observers thought the main aim of the demonstrations was to make the Chinese support for the Cuban position unmistakably clear during the talks that Anastas I. Mikoyan . . . is having with Cuban leaders in Havana."

The official Chinese attitude was voiced by Peng Cheng, Mayor of Peking and a member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, at a rally Oct. 29. Peng declared the Cuban experience proved that the "revolutionary will and revolutionary unity of oppressed people are their greatest and most reliable strength. It is the awakened armed masses of people daring to fight and daring to win, not weapons boasted of by imperialists and other reactionaries, that determine history."

Algerian Labor Defends Cuba

PARIS, Oct. 28 — The U.S. State Department's brutal decision to break off talks on economic aid to the Algerian people has not dampened the determination of the newly freed North African country to stand on the side of the revolutionary Cuban people.

This firm stand of the Algerians must be appreciated against the background of their bitter need. They are suffering major unemployment, economic breakdown, hunger and the need to repair a country devastated by eight years of one of the most ferocious colonial wars in history.

A good example of the Algerians' attitude is found in the Oct. 26 issue of the Algiers daily newspaper, *Al Chaab*. Prominently displayed on the front page with photographs is a report of a rally organized by the city's unions to demonstrate solidarity with Cuba.

"When one of the speakers described the situation in which Cuba finds itself," the paper re-

Williams: 'Am No Defector'

HAVANA, Oct. 22 — A Negro American, now living in Cuba, today took exception to being labeled by the U.S. government as a "defector." Robert F. Williams, former president of the Union County, North Carolina, branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, differed with a report that appeared in the *Miami Herald* Oct. 14 alleging that U.S. government sources named Williams as one of "eleven defectors" working for the Castro regime.

Williams maintains that he did not defect to Cuba, but that he, his wife and two children were driven from the U.S. by a violent racist lynch mob aided by the FBI. Williams classifies himself as a refugee from racial oppression in the U.S. He stated that he would still be living in his native home of Monroe, N. C., if he had not been violently driven out by Ku Klux Klan elements that also framed a Negro mother of two children, Mrs. Mae Mallory, now imprisoned and fighting extradition in Cleveland, Ohio, two Negro youth, Richard Crowder and Harold Reape of Monroe, and John Lowry, a white Freedom Rider of New York.

Williams says that the frame-up trial is still pending and accused Tad Szulc, whose name appeared on a *New York Times* article of Oct. 6, as prejudicing public sentiment against the Monroe defendants by referring to him (Williams) as an "extremist" Negro leader. He says that the "extremist" label applied to a Negro and those associating with him incites violent reaction and a mood of vengeance on the part of white racists.

Williams insists that Radio Free Dixie, referred to in the *N. Y. Times* article, is not a broadcast reflecting official Cuban policy. He says that he originated the idea of Radio Free Dixie and requested that such facilities be made available in an act of Cuban solidarity with oppressed Negroes struggling for human rights in the U.S. He says that he alone decides the policy of Radio Free Dixie and that it is an important medium for Negroes because it is the first powerful free voice, capable of reaching millions of people, that Negroes have ever completely controlled.

Williams says that he and his family will return to the U.S. if the courts prove the possibility of Negroes obtaining legal justice there by dropping the false charges against all Monroe defendants including himself. As things stand now, however, he says he is convinced that Negroes cannot obtain legal nor social justice in the U.S.

ports, "and especially affirmed the resolution of the Algerian people to bring some concrete support to the Cuban workers in their defensive struggle, a young powerful voice cried out, 'Volunteer for Cuba!' The slogan was taken up by the crowd with a roar. 'You felt,' says *Al Chaab*, 'that proletarian solidarity was not a vain word . . .'

Speeches were given in Arabic. These were summarized in a French translation by Benatiq Ahmed and quoted by *Al Chaab* as follows:

"The Cuban socialist revolution is once again menaced by American imperialism. The Cuban people, our brothers during the most difficult moments of our freedom struggle, gave us great help. Their support was not limited to communiqués or platonic declarations.

"The Cuban people supported us in a concrete and active way. Thus its delegation in the UN took up our cause in the struggle for the triumph of our revolution. Today it welcomes and educates our children and gives hospital care to our *moudjahidines* [soldiers of the Algerian revolutionary army].

"The Cuban workers and peasants, like their brothers in struggle, the Algerian workers and peasants, have torn off forever the heavy chains of exploitation in which imperialism imprisoned them.

"The struggle for the socialist revolution of the Cuban people is also for the socialist revolution of the Algerian people.

"We declare before the world that we, the Algerian people, hold that our destiny is indissolubly associated with that of our Cuban brothers. A blow at Cuba is a blow at Algeria!

"But the American imperialists and their agents, although beaten and humiliated by the valiant people of Cuba, never gave up their efforts to savagely reconquer and resume their shameless exploitation of the riches of Cuba.

"To achieve this they have even gone so far as to risk our planet and to take it to the verge of nuclear world war.

"We don't want this war, no freedom-loving country wants it. We workers want to live and reconstruct our country.

"But our liberty, so dearly won, imposes on us the most vigilant attitude. Cuba is one of the fronts of the great anti-imperialist war. The struggle of the Cuban people is simply the extension of the struggle of the Algerian people.

"We declare before the world that we, the Algerian people, hold that our destiny is indissolubly associated with that of our Cuban brothers. A blow at Cuba is a blow at Algeria!

"Long live the unity of the Algerian workers! Long live solidarity with the Cuban workers!"

SWP Steps Up Campaign For Socialist Education Fund

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

in furthering our work.

In the constant, day-after-day, year-in-and-year-out political and educational work which the SWP carries on we need support, both political and financial. Although we spend about one one-hundredth as much for all our work as capitalist candidates for even minor offices have at their command, we still cannot function without the financial help of our friends and supporters. The landlords, the printers, the utilities companies, the purveyors of all the necessary supplies — these people charge us just as much as they do their other customers — sometimes more.

We ask you, therefore, to be as generous as you possibly can in your contributions to the Socialist Education Fund. It takes a great deal of the coin of the realm to publish pamphlets on current subjects, to republish needed basic Marxist material, to send our speakers throughout the country, to just keep plugging away day-after-day so that one day soon the American working class will take our program for a better world and make it their own!

Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Per cent |
|------------------------------|-------|------------------|-----------------|
| St. Louis | \$ 75 | \$ 46 | 61 |
| Detroit | 625 | 382 | 61 |
| San Diego | 250 | 145 | 58 |
| San Francisco | 560 | 305 | 55 |
| Milwaukee | 225 | 124 | 55 |
| Twin Cities | 850 | 455 | 54 |
| Seattle | 475 | 224 | 47 |
| Cleveland | 500 | 203 | 41 |
| New York | 4,300 | 1,508 | 37 |
| Oakland-Berkeley | 525 | 184 | 35 |
| Philadelphia | 225 | 76 | 34 |
| The General | 300 | 104 | 34 |
| Chicago | 700 | 225 | 32 |
| Newark | 125 | 55 | 44 |
| Connecticut | 150 | 40 | 27 |
| Allentown | 115 | 30 | 26 |
| Los Angeles | 4,300 | 1,000 | 23 |
| Boston | 600 | 117 | 20 |
| Denver | 100 | 00 | 00 |
| Totals through Nov. 5 | | \$ 15,000 | \$ 5,223 |
| | | | 35% |

... Reads Transcript of Talk With U Thant

(Continued from Page 1)

representatives of the Soviet Union and the representatives of the United States, General Rikhye was always present and in my opinion, his presence here in this meeting with the Prime Minister would be useful.

"Dr. Castro — We have no objection.

"(General Rikhye is called in to take part in the interview.)

"U Thant — Before we proceed I would like to thank you and your Government, Mr. Prime Minister, for the invitation you have extended to me to come to Cuba, not only for the accomplishment of this mission but for the invitation which I have received previously. As I told you when I accepted your invitation, I came as soon as possible. I am sure that today and tomorrow we will hold very fruitful talks to find a solution respecting Cuba's sovereignty and independence.

"Dr. Castro — We are ready to take all the time that is necessary. We have ample time available for you.

"U Thant — As you all know, the problem of Cuba was presented before the meeting of the Security Council last week while meetings were also held of the 45 neutralist countries, principally those that had attended the conferences of Bandung and Belgrade.

"The meetings were held and they sent representatives to confer with me, inasmuch as I also come from a neutral country and took part in both meetings, to ask me to take the initiative — the initiative which could contribute to the peaceful solution of this problem.

"I decided to take the initiative on October 24. After hearing the statements of the three delegations in the Security Council, I came to the conclusion that the immediate problem was to issue a call to the three powers.

"I called on Prime Minister Khrushchev voluntarily to suspend arms shipments to Cuba for two or three weeks, and to President Kennedy voluntarily to lift the quarantine, and I asked Your Excellency voluntarily to stop the construction of missile bases to give us the opportunity to discuss this problem calmly.

"Immediately after my requests, the Security Council suspended its meetings to give me the opportunity to carry out my proposals. The following day I learned that Soviet ships were approaching the quarantine zone. I sent a second appeal to Prime Minister Khrushchev and to President Kennedy, asking them to prevent a direct confrontation in this matter in order to give me the few days necessary to deal with this question.

"On that day I also sent you a letter to which you replied very courteously, asking me to visit Cuba. The subject of this letter was the suspension of the construction of missile bases in Cuba. Since then there have been messages between Prime Minister Khrushchev and President Kennedy, between Prime Minister Khrushchev and myself, between President Kennedy and myself, and also naturally Your Excellency replied to my letter of October 27.

"The contents of this letter are already publicly known as it has been published.

"As I see the problem, Excellency, it consists of two parts, one immediate and another long term. For the time being the Security Council wants to concern itself with the solution of the immediate problem. The purpose of my negotiation with the three powers, as I mentioned before, refers only to the immediate problem, naturally, but the United Nations will be involved in the solution of the long-term problem in some way.

"The immediate problem consists of several factors. The first



Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro

one is that Prime Minister Khrushchev has replied to my request by giving orders to the captains of the Soviet vessels to keep away from the present from the quarantine zone for a few days. President Kennedy has replied that he was willing to prevent the direct confrontation with the Soviet vessels if they carried no weapons, and Prime Minister Khrushchev has told me explicitly that at this moment the Soviet ships are not carrying weapons. If the two powers are in agreement, armaments will not be sent to Cuba for two or three weeks and for two or three weeks the United States will suspend the quarantine if no armaments are being sent here. What the United States wants to insure is that the Soviet ships will not carry armaments. What the United States wants is a United Nations device that could give them assurances that during this two or three weeks period no armaments are entering Cuba. The Soviet Republic does not agree to this proposal. The Soviet Government proposed a new solution yesterday and the proposal is that the Soviet ships will permit inspection by the Red Cross and certification by the Red Cross that they are not carrying weapons. This reply by the Soviet Government was delivered to the United States last night.

"The Red Cross, with which we got in touch by telephone yesterday in Geneva, has replied that it will agree for the sake of world peace and international cooperation to undertake this task — be it on the high seas or in the Island's ports — provided that the government of Cuba agrees to that.

"My position cannot be one of taking any side. I have no authority to associate myself with any of the proposals. I have only made known to the Red Cross, to the Soviet Union and to the United States that with all due respect for Cuba's sovereignty I would ask this of the Red Cross, provided it has the approval of the Cuban Government. This was indicated to all the three sides and it was reported that this would be transmitted to the Cuban Government.

"The first point, therefore Your Excellency, which will be of great help in my work will be to know the attitude of the Cuban Government with respect to the idea that the Red Cross verify the transportation of armaments on Soviet vessels during the coming two or three weeks. The question is, what would Cuba's attitude be with respect to this proposal?

"Dr. Dorticos — Do you mean on the high seas or in Cuba?

"U Thant — Of course, I have advised the Soviet and United States governments of this proposal. The Soviet Government replies that this is a matter pertaining to Cuban sovereignty. I have

received no reply from the United States Government on this matter.

"Does Your Excellency care to discuss this point by point or all together?

"Dr. Castro — I would rather you continued with your exposition.

"U Thant — The United States tells me, and they have also told me during the negotiations and during the meetings of the Security Council, that what worries them more than the armaments are the missile launching platforms. And as you all know, last Sunday, Prime Minister Khrushchev gave instructions to the Soviet technicians to dismantle the missile launching platforms and return them to the Soviet Union. He has also stated that he will ask the United Nations to send a team to verify that this had in fact been done.

"I replied to the Soviet representative that before sending a team to verify this, it was most important to obtain the prior approval of the Cuban Government; that this matter cannot be dealt with without the knowledge and consent of the Cuban Government and that no action could be taken which would impinge on its sovereignty. I also told the Soviet representative as well as the representative of the United States Government that I would come to Cuba to present this point of view to Premier Castro and to his colleagues.

"Of course, both the Soviet and the United States governments agree that if the launching platforms are withdrawn, the tensions will diminish. What the United States seeks through me is a temporary agreement before the end of the dismantling of the platforms. As for the time that it will take, I have asked the Soviet representative and they have said that they will ask Moscow, but they had not yet received a reply as of this morning.

"What the United States seeks is a temporary agreement, through a united effort, with, naturally, the consent and authorization of the Cuban Government. No one knows how long this will take, one or two weeks, perhaps more.

"The first proposal by the United States is, therefore, if the Cuban Government accepts, that a team be made up from United Nations representatives, formed by persons whose nationalities were acceptable to the Cuban Government.

"The second proposal is that of a United Nations air reconnaissance mission manned by persons acceptable to the Cuban, Russian and United States governments. An airplane with a Cuban, a Russian and United States representative has even been suggested for the two or three weeks that this may take. I have replied to the United States that this proposal

will also be presented to Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

"The United States has informed me that as soon as this system is put into practice, it will make a public statement and in the Security Council if necessary, to the effect that it does not entertain any aggressive intentions against the Cuban Government and will guarantee the nation's territorial integrity. They have asked me to tell you this.

"The most important factor — as I have pointed out to the United States and to all concerned — is that all these agreements cannot be taken without the consent of the Cuban Government. They have replied to me that if an agreement is reached which has the concurrence of the Cuban Government and of the United Nations, they will not only make the statement in the Security Council but they will also lift the blockade.

"I asked the United States yesterday that while I was consulting with Prime Minister Fidel Castro and the Cuban leaders it would be ill regarded if the blockade were in effect and I asked them to lift it. This morning the news was released that the blockade would be lifted for 48 hours during my visit to the Republic of Cuba.

"As you know, Your Excellency, I said in the Security Council that this blockade has been an extremely unusual thing. Very unusual, except in times of war. I've said so in the Security Council.

"This viewpoint is shared by the 45 countries which met and asked me to make this request. Two of the 45 countries which occupy seats in the Security Council at this time, that is, the United Arab Republic and Ghana, made statements to that effect in a meeting of the Security Council. Other countries from among the 45 neutral countries, especially those which took part in the Belgrade Conference, will make similar statements if given the opportunity, that is, insofar as the immediate problem is concerned.

"The Security Council has not authorized me to deal with long-term problems even though they are something which will be dealt with in the Security Council later. For the purposes of this first conversation, this is all I have to say to you, Your Excellency.

"Dr. Castro — I am a bit confused about the terms, the one relating to the proposal for the inspection. You mention two points here, a team and an airplane. I want to have that explained a little further, the part that refers to the proposal on inspection. I would like you to repeat that please.

"U Thant — Both proposals would be from the United Nations. It would be formed by two units, one on land and another on an airplane during the period of the dismantling of the bases, that is two weeks.

"Dr. Castro — I do not understand why these things are asked of us. Could it be explained a little further?

"U Thant — The explanation that the United States gives of why they ask this is that they want to make sure that the launching pads are really being dismantled and that the missiles are being returned to the Soviet Union.

"Dr. Castro — What right does the United States have to ask this? I mean, is it based on a genuine legal right or is it based on force? Is it a demand based on a position of strength?

"U Thant — This is my point of view, that it is not a legal right, that dismantling could only be carried out with the approval and acceptance of the Cuban Government.

"Dr. Castro — Precisely. We do not understand why we are asked a thing like that. Because we have not violated any legal rights. We have absolutely not carried out an aggression against anybody. All our actions have been based on

international law. We have done absolutely nothing outside the norms of international law. On the contrary we have been the victims in the first place of a blockade which is an illegal act, and in the second place through the presumption by a foreign country that it has a right to determine what we have a right to do within our frontiers.

"We hold Cuba to be a sovereign state, no more and no less sovereign than any other member nation of the United Nations, with all the attributes inherent to any of those states. Besides, the United States has been repeatedly violating our air space without any legal right to do it, committing intolerable acts of aggression against our country. They have intended to justify it with the OAS agreement. But the agreement is not valid for us. We were even expelled from the Organization of American States.

"We can accept anything which falls within the law, which does not impinge upon our position as a sovereign state. The United States has not stopped violating our rights and we do not accept any kind of imposition through the use of force. We hold this matter of inspection to be one more attempt to humiliate our country and for that reason we do not accept it. Such a demand of inspection is meant to confirm their intention of violating our right to act with absolute freedom within our frontiers and decide what we can and cannot do within our frontiers.

"And this policy of ours is not a policy devised for this occasion. It forms part of views we have always and steadfastly maintained. In the answer given by the Revolutionary Government to the Joint Resolution of the United States Congress we stated:

"The threat to launch a direct armed attack unless Cuba limited her armaments to that point which the United States took the liberty to determine, is an absurdity. We do not have the slightest intention of rendering accounts to the members of the United States Senate or House concerning the weapons we see fit to acquire and the measures to be taken for the complete defense of our country. These are rights which international laws and principles recognize for all sovereign states. We have not ceded nor do we plan to cede any sovereign rights to the Congress of the United States."

"This point of view was reaffirmed at the United Nations by the President of the Republic of Cuba and the rest has been reaffirmed by me as Prime Minister of the Government in numerous public statements. And that is the firm position of the Cuban Government.

"All those steps were taken in defense of the country's security, in defense against a policy of systematic hostility and aggression. They have all been taken in accordance with the law, and we do not renounce our decision to defend those rights.

"We can negotiate in complete sincerity and honor. It would not be honorable for us to negotiate a sovereign right of our country. For these rights we are ready to pay whatever price may be necessary. This is no mere empty phrase but a very deeply felt attitude of our people.

"U Thant — I understand perfectly the sentiments of Your Excellency; it is for this reason that I clearly said to the United States and to some others that any United Nations action on Cuban territory could only be undertaken with the consent and in accordance with the wishes of the people and the Government of Cuba. I told them that in the name of peace, which all the world and all the

(Continued on Page 6)

... Castro Points to Role of UN in the Congo

(Continued from Page 5)
world's inhabitants so ardently desire, I said to the 45 countries that I agreed to come to Cuba without commitments to one side or the other.

"Some press reports stated last night and this morning, before I left for this trip, that I was coming to arrange the details relevant to the presence of the United Nations in Cuba. This is totally wrong. This would be an insult to the sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba. I have come here only to present the points of view of the other party and to explore the possibility of reaching a peaceful solution. The 45 countries which have asked me to come know what is a legal position and what is not. But in the interest of world peace, and just for a period of one or two weeks, maybe three weeks, I have been asked to come to find, to possibly find, a solution.

"Your Excellency, my conscience is clear on this aspect: the United Nations can undertake an action of this type only if they have the consent of the government in question. It is not the first time this has happened. In Laos, when a situation arose that threatened world peace, the United Nations went into this territory only after the consent of the Government of Laos was obtained. In 1956, in Egypt, in the United Arab Republic, a question arose and the United Nations went to Egypt. They stayed in Egypt — and they are still in Egypt — always with the government's consent. Also, in 1958, in Lebanon, a situation arose that threatened world peace, and the United Nations entered this territory only after they received the consent of the Government of Lebanon.

"One condition is absolutely necessary and it is that in an operation of this type one must have the consent of the government in question.

"Dr. Castro — Also in the case of the Congo.

"U Thant — And in the case of Somaliland.

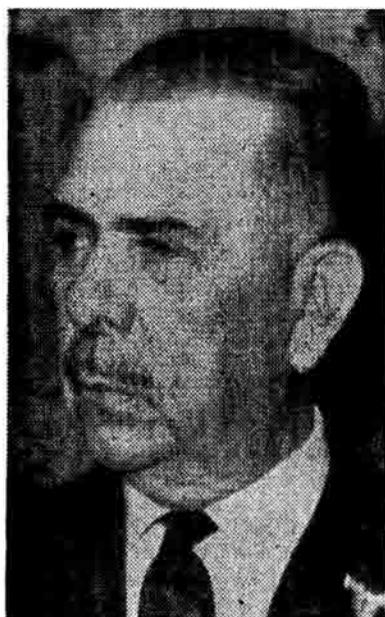
"Dr. Castro — In the case of the Congo, I understand, they requested the presence of the United Nations.

"U Thant — In the Congo the request was made by the Congolese Government.

"Dr. Castro — In the case of the Congo the government which requested that is buried at this moment.

"In the first place, my government does not have the slightest doubt as to the good intentions, the selflessness and the honesty with which the present Secretary General of the United Nations is working. We do not have any doubt as to your good intentions, your good faith, of your extraordinary interest in finding a solution to the problem. We all have a very high concept of your mission and of yourself. We must say this in all sincerity. I understand the interest we all must have in peace. But the road to peace is not followed by sacrificing the rights of people, by the violation of the rights of peoples, because, that is precisely the road which leads to war. The road to peace is the road which guarantees the rights of peoples, and peace is guaranteed by the determination of peoples to resist in defense of those rights.

"In all the cases mentioned by you, Mr. Secretary, Laos, Egypt, Lebanon and the Congo, in all these cases only a chain of aggression against the rights of peoples can be seen. The origin of all these cases has been the same. The road to the Second World War was the road laid out by the annexation of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia which German imperialism was allowed to carry out. This led to that war. And we are very much aware of those dangers. We know the road the aggressors like to follow. We can guess the road the



LAZARO CARDENAS, ex-president of Mexico, protested blockade of Cuba.

United States wants to follow with respect to us.

"It is therefore really difficult to understand how it is possible to talk about 'immediate' solutions independently of long-term solutions, when the most important thing is not to pay any price for peace now, but to assure peace definitively and not to be paying the price for a false peace a little bit each day.

"And of course, Cuba is not Austria, nor Czechoslovakia, nor is it the Congo. We have the firmest intentions of defending our rights in spite of the difficulties and in spite of all the risks involved. We deem it necessary that the Secretary of the United Nations realize this so that you may be successful in your mission or at least that you may carry out your work thoroughly informed about these circumstances.

"U Thant — I am perfectly aware of your feelings and of the points of view expressed by Your Excellency. On the point of immediate solutions and of long-term solutions, I wish to say that the Security Council has authorized me to find the means to obtain peace in this area. I understand that the immediate and the long-term solutions are closely linked, and for the sake of the long-term solutions we should explore the possibilities in the light of the situation as it is now. I have been authorized by the Security Council to do this. In practice it is difficult to separate these matters. I believe that, if we find an immediate solution for this problem, it will lead us to a permanent solution, not only for the United Nations but for all the parties involved.

"In referring to Laos and to the other places where the United Nations has established itself, I agree with you but I also wish to say that in those places the United Nations has been there to either prevent war or to prevent outside aggression. I am of the opinion that in the present times and in the coming times the presence of the United Nations within countries will serve especially to hold off and to eliminate the danger of aggression.

"President Derticós — I would like to say something. I wish to second our Prime Minister's statement with respect to our opinion of the high mission carried out by the Secretary General with great nobility. That mission is none other, evidently, than to find the means, in this situation of crisis, to guarantee peace. It seems that there is a matter to be determined. Where does the danger of war lie? Does it lie perhaps in the types of armament of one kind or another which Cuba possesses or does it lie in the aggressive intentions of the United States against Cuba? We believe that the danger lies in the aggressive intentions of the U.S. against Cuba.

The arms which exist in Cuba, whatever these might be, could never initiate an aggression. Then, we ask ourselves the following question: Why is inspection and the admission of inspectors made the condition for guaranteeing peace? To guarantee peace it would suffice for the United States to bind itself with all the necessary guarantees through the United Nations not to attack Cuba. It is for this reason that we have stated — and it has been reiterated here with absolute clarity by our Prime Minister — that the matters related to a long-term solution, if they can be called that, are intimately tied to the immediate solution of the crisis. The immediate solution of the crisis will come directly after the United States offers Cuba guarantees against aggression, minimum guarantees contained in the statement made by our Prime Minister on October 28, which the Secretary General must surely be acquainted with.

"The presence of the United Nations in Cuba on the matter of inspection, which the Cuban Government does not accept, for the reasons stated by our Prime Minister, would mean at the most a guarantee for peace, that would last two or three weeks, which our Prime Minister has justifiably termed 'ephemeral.' Immediately after, the dangers of war would resume, because the conditions which make possible a United States aggression against Cuba would remain. If the United States would offer the minimum guarantees, the immediate problem would begin to be solved. I would say, in the last instance, that there are not, concerning peace now, matters to be discussed now and matters to be discussed in the far distant future.

"We believe that the five points contained in the declaration of our Prime Minister are the ingredients which form part of the immediate discussion directed toward guaranteeing peace. We believe that these five points are not subject to a long-term discussion but that circumstances demand that they be part of an immediate discussion because in our judgment they constitute the means and conditions for guaranteeing peace.

Cuba No Danger to Peace

"I repeat: the peace is not endangered by our arms; peace is endangered because of the aggressive attitudes of the United States. And the negotiations and discussions about these five points are what will make the danger of war disappear immediately. This is how we understand the problem.

"U Thant — In the first place, I would like to thank Your Excellencies, Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, for the consideration you have shown me and for the office I hold. I am completely in accord with both of you that the solution that we seek for the short-term agreement should include negotiations for the long-term agreement but in terms of the United Nations I believe that the best solution — and this I believe the 110 member nations will agree to — is that through the Security Council the United Nations should provide personnel from UN countries to try and reach a long-term solution. But now, at the present time, I do not believe that the United Nations, its Security Council, can reach a positive and acceptable long-term solution,

in the best interests of everyone and of world peace. If a long-term solution is found, it would be in the best interests of everyone and of world peace; but I believe this is difficult to achieve at the present time in the United Nations.

"Dr. Castro — I understand that if that short-term solution of which the Secretary General speaks is not achieved, it will simply be because the United States does not wish it, and that they are determined to demand inspections as a way of humiliating Cuba.

"Because in the final analysis the decision of the Soviet Government to withdraw weapons of a strategic type which had been brought for the defense of the Republic of Cuba should be enough to satisfy that unilateral security which the U.S. demands. The Cuban Government has not raised any obstacles to the withdrawal of those weapons. This decision, of a public character, and the very fact that it was adopted in this way before world opinion, has had a repercussion on world opinion. The United States knows that that decision was adopted by the Soviet Union in all seriousness and that the strategic weapons are in fact being withdrawn.

"If what the United States is trying to do in addition to that is to humiliate our country, it will not succeed. We have not vacillated for one single moment in our decision to defend our rights. We cannot accept terms which could be imposed only on a conquered country. We have not given up our decision to defend ourselves and to do so to such a degree that they will not be able to impose conditions on us, because they will have to destroy us, annihilate us, and in any case they will not find anyone here on whom to impose humiliating conditions.

"U Thant — Concerning the matter of the declaration by the United States: The U.S. has said they will make a public declaration of non-aggression and of respect for the territorial integrity of Cuba once the launching pads have been dismantled and withdrawn. It seems to me that there is no disagreement on this.

"I am in full agreement with the Prime Minister that the actions of the United Nations involve an infringement upon the rights of a member state; and in this case, speaking of Cuba, if it does not agree to accept an action by the United Nations, then my view is that what I must do is to communicate this to those who made the proposal. It is not my duty to impose conditions here. My duty is merely to explain the possibility of finding ways, means or measures by which we could find peaceful solutions without making concrete proposals. I will take into account all that has been said here this afternoon and I will return to present my report to the interested parties in this matter.

"I believe that this meeting has been very useful and if the Prime Minister is in agreement we shall have another meeting tomorrow before I leave. Meanwhile I will be able to think over carefully the statements of the President and the Prime Minister concerning these matters.

"Dr. Castro — In conclusion, I would like to answer you concerning the question of inspection by the Red Cross. We are equally opposed to that inspection in our ports, and I ask myself why if the Soviet Union authorizes the inspection of its ships on the high seas, it should be necessary to inspect them again in Cuban ports? In the second place, I notice how the Secretary General's interest in obtaining from the United States a public declaration, a commitment before the United Nations, of not invading Cuba. Concerning this I wish to say in the first place that the United States does not have any right to invade Cuba and that it is not possible to negotiate with a promise of not committing a crime, with the simple promise of not committing a crime. And in the face of that danger, we have more faith in our decision to defend ourselves than in the words of the Government of the United States. But besides, if the United Nations highly values public commitments made before it by the United States, such as that of not invading, why does it not equally value the public commitment made before the United Nations by the Soviet Union of withdrawing the strategic weapons

that it sent for the defense of the Republic of Cuba? These would be two equally public commitments. And if one of these does not need any additional guarantee — that is the U.S. commitment not to invade Cuba — why does the commitment of the Soviet Union to withdraw its strategic weapons need the additional guarantee of inspecting us?

"We will meet again with pleasure as often as you wish and at any hour you wish.

"U Thant — Thank you very much, Your Excellency."

[At this point Dr. Castro finished reading the transcript.]

And this was the end of the first meetings and when the second meeting began, he began by saying: "I want to thank the government and the people for their hospitality and for the facilities which they have made available to me in this country. The reason for this second meeting is to exchange ideas and certain confidential matters that I have in mind."

So this is the second meeting in which he began by presenting matters of a confidential nature. And we agreed not to make public the things which he said. In this meeting we maintained the same point of view as in the first and we presented such points as the dangers involved in the violation of our air space, the danger of an incident and that it was indispensable for the United States to suspend these flights. At the same time, the Secretary General asked us for information regarding the plane which he had been informed by the United States Defense Department had disappeared on one of the flights over Cuba. We gave him the information he asked for and at the same time we agreed to grant his request to send back the body of the pilot who died while carrying out an illegal flight over our country. We agreed for humanitarian reasons to return the body.

U-2 Pilot's Death

We are truly sorry that this North American had to die in our country as a consequence of an illegal act carried out in violation of our sovereignty upon orders of the Government of the United States. We hope that the circumstances which cause the death will not be repeated, that is, that the causes which made that death possible will not be repeated.

In general, our government's opinion in regard to the Secretary General of the United Nations is that he is an honest, impartial person who has sincere desires to find solutions to these problems. It also seemed to us that he was a competent person and, in truth, we have confidence in him.

This is the conclusion which we reached after these meetings with him, from the way in which he expressed himself, from the respect which he always showed towards the ideas and the rights of our country. Besides, we believe that at the present time the Secretary General of the United Nations is carrying out a very important mission which increases the prestige of the post he holds and which, at the same time, should he succeed in his mission, would undoubtedly increase the prestige of the United Nations.

It is possible that this institution perform, develop, and carry out its work — it is carrying out at present work of great importance. Undoubtedly, it is important that the United Nations be an institution which guarantees the rights of peoples — above all the rights of small nations. And it seems to us that at the present time the United Nations is carrying out this role well.

In this matter we give the United Nations our full support. That is to say, in the efforts and in the activities which it is carrying out for the sake of world peace and to find a solution. This

(Continued on page 7)

... Cuba-USSR Unity to Survive Differences

(Continued from Page 6)

aside from the fact that we have been intransigent in the matter of inspection. We cannot accept inspections for several reasons. First because we have no desire to sacrifice a sovereign principle of our country.

A series of rights has been violated. The freedom of the seas has been violated by the United States. The United States presumes to inject itself into the things which we have a right to do or not to do within our frontiers. The United States has been openly violating the air space of our country. How is it possible, in the face of these acts of aggression and violations, in the face of these acts of force, how are we going to accept the inspection of our country? Inspection, precisely to confirm the pretensions of the United States to decide which types of arms we may or may not possess.

We have not renounced our rights to possess the types of arms which we deem convenient in the exercise of a sovereign right of our country. And we have not renounced that right. We consider it a right which is ours. And how are we going to authorize an inspection which will validate the pretensions of a foreign country? In the second place this is a demand made from a position of strength, a position of strength of the United States, and we will not give way before a position of strength, and we will never give way before positions of strength.

This is no small thing Cuba is defending. It is defending a sovereign right of peoples and, besides, it is defending peace. Because our stand in the face of positions of strength, a stand which these situations demand, of staunch resistance to the demands of the aggressors and of those who like to practice that policy, is a stand which will not encourage the aggressors.

Aggressors may be aggressors, that is to say, the world may unfortunately find that there are aggressors. But aggressors against our country will meet resistance. The aggressors will find resistance to all types of aggression, whether it be physical aggression or moral aggression — which is the kind of aggression they are trying in this instance, or the aggression against a right; and they will not be encouraged in this aggression by Cuba's attitude.

Therefore Cuba's position was and is that we will not accept inspection. We have pointed out the conditions which are lacking. We are completely within the law. And we have definitely decided to defend that right. Above all, as it is clear from the explanation which we made to the Secretary General of the United Nations, that more than anything else, it is an attempt to humiliate us. And we emphasized to the Secretary General of the United Nations in our second meeting that Cuba's point of view is that if a true solution to the tensions and problems which exist in the Caribbean is desired — it is better to say in the continent, and which besides affects the whole world — it is necessary that the guarantees which Cuba demands be given.

Those guarantees have all the power of being absolutely just demands. And they are all based on rights which indisputably belong to our country. First, the ending of the economic blockade and of all the measures of economic and commercial pressure which the United States is exercising against our country or has been exercising against our country, aggressive acts which constitute some of the elements which worsened the situation to the point now reached. Aggressive acts which they continue to carry out at this very moment. We receive reports constantly of ships which were headed for Cuba whose merchandise has been left in some Mediterranean port or in some European or Latin American port. Merchandise which was destined



FRANCISCO JULIAO, Brazilian peasant leader, addressed big, pro-Cuba rally in Recife.

for Cuba. Just yesterday, we received the news of a ship or of two ships loaded with burlap bags for our sugar industry, which had been left in some Mediterranean port because of pressures by the United States.

Secondly, the cessation of all subversive activities; the dropping and landing of arms and explosives by air and by sea; the organization of mercenary invasions; the infiltration of spies and saboteurs. All of these are activities which are carried out from U.S. territory and from some accomplice nations. Does not a people have the right to demand guarantees against these activities?

The cessation of piratical attacks which are carried out from bases in the United States and Puerto Rico; the cessation of violations of our air space and waters by war planes and warships of the United States. That is to say that our country asks that no criminal acts be committed against it, that no violations be committed, that no illegal acts be carried out against it. And finally the withdrawal of the naval base at Guantanamo and the return of the Cuban territory occupied by the United States.

It is absurd to ask us to withdraw friendly arms from our country while they leave an enemy base in our country. This has absolutely no justification; it is absolutely absurd. No one in any part of the world would deny the right which our people has to demand the return of a base, of the territory on which that base is entrenched. A base in which, during all these days, they were assembling troops — during these days of crisis — in order to attack our country. And how are they going to ask us to withdraw friendly arms, while in the very heart of our country there are enemy arms?

The United States says that it holds this base by virtue of a treaty, by virtue of an agreement between the United States and the government of Cuba. Of course it should be said in passing that it was a Cuban government which was formed during the intervention of the United States. It was not through a treaty, it was through a unilateral agreement in the Congress of the United States, through an amendment which they imposed upon our constitution after the constitution had been forcibly imposed by the United States, through a law of Congress warning Cuba that they would not leave the country unless the amendment was accepted. And precisely the matter of the naval base was included in that amendment. If they call that treaty legitimate, then the agreements between the Soviet Government and the free government of Cuba, by virtue of which those strategic projectiles were placed in our country for our defense, are much more legitimate.

And if the United States has

placed the world on the brink of war to demand the withdrawal of those projectiles, what moral right do they have to refuse to abandon the territory which they occupy in our country?

We will not place any obstacles to a peaceful solution, to a truly peaceful solution. We are not a warlike or belligerent people. We are a peaceful people. And to be peaceful does not mean that one will allow himself to be abused or anything like it. Because when we are abused then we are as warlike as we have to be in order to defend ourselves — as events have proven. We will never place obstacles in the way of a truly peaceful solution. And the indispensable conditions for a truly peaceful solution are the guarantees of the five points asked by the Government of Cuba.

Let the United States give proof of its good faith — not with a promise. Deeds, not words! A truly convincing deed would be for the United States to return the territory which it occupies at the naval base at Guantanamo. That would be a more convincing deed than any word, than any promise made by the United States.

The guarantees asked by Cuba cannot be granted? Then there will be no truly peaceful solution. Then we will all have to continue to exist in the midst of this tension in which we have lived up to now. We want peaceful solutions, but solutions with dignity. Besides, without dignity there will be no peace. Because peoples who do not have dignity are not respected.

And we have a right to peace; to one kind of peace or another; to this peace which is neither peace nor war — simply because we have known how to resist, because we have known how to show dignity. And we have a right to peace, a truly peaceful solution, and sooner or later we will achieve it, because we have earned that right through the spirit shown by our people, because of their resistance, because of their dignity.

Our Cause Will Gain

And our cause, our right to peace will gain ground in the world because all the world knows, besides, who is responsible for these problems, who is responsible for these tensions. And the peoples of the world will more and more support our five points, which are indispensable conditions for peace.

And our people has earned, and it will earn more and more, the right to a worthy peace, a just peace. Let us work in peace! We prefer to use the implements of labor rather than weapons. Rather than to kill and destroy, we prefer to create. They do not let our people create. And they constantly force us to mobilize, to be on a war footing, to defend ourselves, to prepare. They force us to do this. This is not a policy of our own choosing. It is a policy imposed by the aggressors against our country.

And what our country wants is to work. What it wants is to develop its resources; to develop its people; to carry forward its peaceful labor.

One can relate many anecdotes which arise from this situation. A few days before the crisis, barely a few days before, we opened an institute of basic sciences where almost 1,000 young people had registered to begin the study of medicine. Three days later, the institute of basic sciences had been converted into an anti-aircraft school. Compare the one thing with the other. On the one hand peaceful work, the desire and efforts of a people in behalf of its welfare, of its health; to prepare all the doctors needed by the population to increase the life span, to raise the standard of health. On the other hand, in that very place where 800 young people had matriculated, three days later we had to bring in 800 or a thousand or 2,000 young people to teach

them to kill. Not to teach them how to handle surgical instruments, but to teach them how to handle cannons.

And our path and the desire of our people is not to have a school of artillery but an institute of basic sciences. All the rest are bitter tasks which the aggressors have imposed on us. A few days before this crisis, we could already see everywhere how the work of the revolution had advanced. Food supplies were improving considerably, production, agricultural as well as industrial, plans, all the creative tasks of the revolution were marching forward at a fast pace.

And the different units were dedicated to the task of preparing the conditions of work for the coming year of 1963 with the hope of achieving a favorable balance in the economy, a favorable balance in production. Nevertheless, the crisis came, the threat came, and mobilization was necessary. And it was necessary to abandon all that work, to abandon all those tasks in order to assume, under the circumstances, the most sacred task — which is the defense of our country.

And we will defend our country, because we want a country in which to work, not a country of parasites, but a country of workers, a country of creative people. And we want that country in order to work, in order to create. And because we have to defend her above all, before anything. And the ardor with which the people prepared to fight, and to do whatever was necessary, demonstrates the love which the people feel more and more toward creative work.

And why? What does the people defend in the trenches? It defends what it is doing in the countryside, what it is doing in the factories, what it is doing in the universities, what it is doing in the schools. That is what our people is going to defend in the trenches. And the more conscious it is of what it is doing, and the more it loves what it is doing — it is logical — the greater the love and the valor with which it will go to the trenches.

We will not be an obstacle to a peaceful solution. We gladly offer our efforts towards that solution, towards the efforts which the United Nations is making to find a truly peaceful solution, to the efforts which the various neutralist countries are making toward finding that truly peaceful solution. Peace with dignity and without the least diminution of any of those sovereign rights of our country. Because if there is a diminution of those rights, we would rather continue as we are. We do not accept any diminution. How long? As long as is necessary!

As a culmination of all this struggle, we will some day achieve peace with all the attributes of a complete and absolutely sovereign nation. For that was always the aspiration of our people. And we should have patience. We will not accept any petty formula. We will accept any truly peaceful and worthy formula. And I believe in this way that not only we will be the gainers. Everyone will gain. The whole world will gain. America will gain. The United States will gain. That is to say, the very ones who are responsible for this situation will also gain by a dignified peace for our country.

We express the thinking of our people when we say that we are willing to struggle for that peace, and that we are willing to co-operate towards achieving that peace. We have stated it, we have said so in all our statements. Let us see if after this crisis which shook the world for several days, the conditions are achieved, the circumstances are achieved, to make peace possible.

I have a few more things to say. In the course of this crisis, it must be said that during the development of this crisis, certain differences arose between the Soviet

Government and the Cuban Government. But I want to say something to all Cubans; this is not the place where we should discuss these problems. It is not here where it would be useful, since our enemies would try to take advantage of these discussions. We have to discuss this with the Soviets on a governmental level and on a party level.

We have to sit down and discuss with them all that may be necessary in the light of reason and in the light of principles, but we must say that, above all, we are Marxist-Leninists and we are friends of the Soviet Union. There will be no breach between the Soviet Union and Cuba.

There is something else we want to say: that we have faith in the policy of principles of the Soviet Union. And we have faith in the leadership of the Soviet Union, that is to say, in the government and in the governing party of the Soviet Union. If my fellow citizens ask me for an opinion at this time, what should I tell them? What advice should I give them? In the midst of confusing situations, of things which have not been understood well or which are not understood well, what should be done? I would say that what one has to do is to have confidence. What one has to do is to realize that these international problems are very complex and very delicate and that our people, which has given evidence of great maturity, should show its maturity in this matter.

No Premature Judgments

I mean by being careful to channelize matters, by not making premature judgments, and, above all, by having discipline. And, above all, by having complete confidence in the revolutionary government, in the leadership of the revolutionary government, by having complete confidence that all things will be discussed at the right moment, all problems, all questions.

To realize, in addition, that elements upon which to base judgments in order to understand certain things, may be lacking. And to realize also — they should not forget this — the tense and pressing circumstances in which these events took place. Now, there will be sufficient time to discuss all of this amply. And we will discuss it. Above all do not let the enemy make capital out of our impatience, out of our judgments. Because an honest revolutionary may pronounce judgments; he has a right to form opinions. But if he expresses opinions at a given moment about things which he doesn't understand — There may also be those who are not revolutionary. There may also be those who are interested in sowing distrust, in creating divisions, in creating resentments. And that is why the advice that we should give is to be firm, to have confidence and to have faith. To be guided by the statements which we have made here tonight is what must be done under these circumstances. That is what we should do.

And above all, we say this with all sincerity there are things which I want to say because in moments like this when a certain amount of discontent might have been produced as a result of these misunderstandings or disagreements, it is important to remember above all what the Soviet Union has done for us.

It is important to remember above all what it has done for us in each of the difficult situations which we have confronted, in the face of the Yankee attack, the economic aggression, when our sugar quota was cut off, when our oil supply was cut off, in the face of each of these aggressions — one by one — the aggressions which have been directed against us, how the friendly hand of the Soviet Union has been there to support us. And we are grateful.

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SWP Enters Washington Election Race

SEATTLE — The Socialist Workers Party has entered a last-minute write-in candidate for U.S. Senator in the election campaign. He is Robert Patrick, a waterfront warehouseman, a fighter for civil rights with a record of 25 years activity in the socialist and trade-union movements.

In a campaign flyer, the Washington SWP answers the question: Why a Write-in?

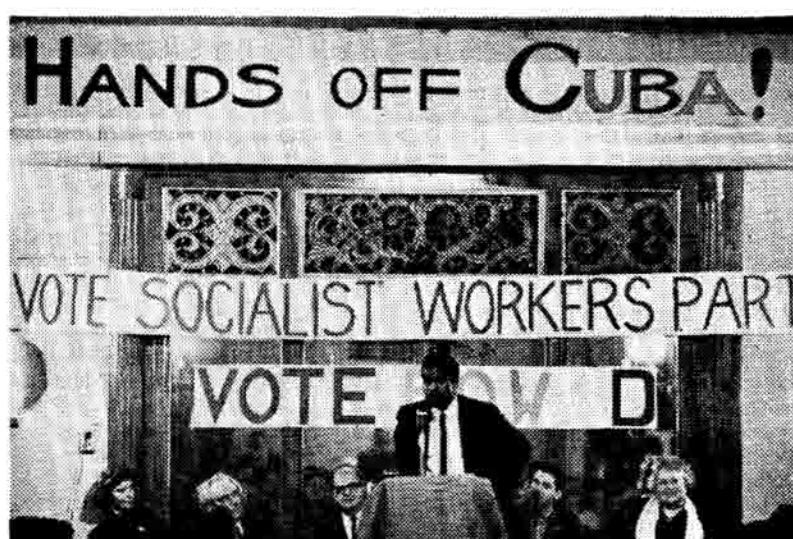
"Until last week's Cuban blockade, the local SWP had not planned participation in the current state elections. Other activities and opportunities for promoting socialism seemed more vital.

"But Kennedy's criminal attempt to strangle Cuba — on the phony pretext that Cuba menaces us! — changes the electoral picture. Fair-minded people want an immediate and positive way of expressing opposition to the Democrat-Republican violations of Cuba's rights. Yet there is no candidate for U.S. Senate opposed to U.S. brinkmanship."

"Both Sen. Magnuson, Democratic incumbent, and Christensen, his Republican opponent, hail U.S. aggression. The Socialist Labor Party, with Killman as Senate candidate, disgraces socialism by blaming both sides equally — the violated along with the violators! — and slandering the harassed Cuban Revolution. The SLP calls Soviet aid to Cuba 'brinkmanship.'

"Some peace advocates in Seattle believed they could express pro-peace sentiment by a vote for A. F. Bryant for Congress. But Mrs. Bryant's anti-blockade stand is nullified by her support to Sen. Magnuson and the Democratic Party slate — who all endorse Kennedy's war program.

"...To offset this, the SWP will conduct a write-in campaign for all who want truly independent politics and fair play for Cuba."



LEROY McRAE, SWP candidate for Attorney General, addressing New York election rally Nov. 2. Seated (l. to r.) are Sylvia Weinstein, candidate for Lieut. Governor, Prof. Otto Nathan, Harry Ring, chairman, Paul Krassner, editor of 'The Realist,' and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, author and literary critic.

Independence Group Cites Atom Bases in Puerto Rico

On the day after President Kennedy's speech charging that weapons capable of carrying nuclear arms existed in Cuba, the Mesa De Lares, a united front of Puerto Rican independence forces, cabled the UN Security Council that similar weapons were already stationed elsewhere in Latin America.

"Puerto Rico," the cablegram read, "which is also a Latin American territory, has been filled with atomic weapons and guided missiles, established in numerous military bases built here by the armed forces of the United States of America, without the consent of our people. This fact, publicly denounced by a group of Puerto Rican professors in September 1961, has become a pressing source of danger to the civil population of our country which suddenly finds itself in the explosive center of a Caribbean crisis without itself being a party to the dispute."

Earlier, on Oct. 14, the Mission

to the United Nations of the Puerto Rico Pro Independence Movement addressed a letter to the Chairman of the UN Fourth Committee, strongly protesting the use of Puerto Rican territory by the Cuban counter-revolutionary group, Alpha 66. This group has been carrying out attacks on Cuba and on shipping going to Cuba with the knowledge and aid of the U.S. government.

"These illegal acts," the letter stated, "which originate in our national territory, constitute a gross violation of the most basic international laws, and betray a shameless disregard for the Charter of the United Nations." It called upon the Fourth Committee, within whose jurisdiction falls the preventing of administrative authorities from using their possessions — or allowing any other body or nation to use their possessions — for warlike purposes, to act to end this "abnormal and dangerous situation."

Anti-War Rally Highlights SWP Campaign in N.Y.

NEW YORK, Nov. 3 — The New York State election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party wound up here last night with an anti-war rally at Central Plaza. Some 300 people attended the three-hour meeting which was addressed by SWP candidates and leading independent socialist and radical figures.

The rally opened with remarks by Julian Beck, co-director of The Living Theater and initiator of the General Strike for Peace movement, followed by Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*. Jane McManus, promotion director of the *National Guardian*, drew applause when she stated that throughout the recent crisis her thoughts had been with the Cuban people. She endorsed the SWP campaign as a way to express the need of independent political action in New York State.

The noted economist, Dr. Otto Nathan, an associate of the late Dr. Albert Einstein and executor of his estate, called for a large vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Another guest speaker endorsing the campaign was William A. Price, a staunch fighter for civil liberties and for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

A highlight of the meeting was the address by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, literary critic and author of *The Great Tradition in English Literature — From Shakespeare to Shaw*. Using the central theme of Bertolt Brecht's play about brainwashing, *Man is Man*, Dr. Rubinstein indicated the predicament of many who, although having all good intentions, yet lack principle and thus unintentionally co-operate in their own destruction. She recounted ex-

periences on a picket line protesting the danger of war over Cuba, and expressed her shock that some who opposed Kennedy's actions were still calling for a vote for Kennedy's Democratic Party.

Richard Garza, SWP candidate for Governor, affirmed that he considered it a privilege to support and defend the Cuban Revolution. The revolution, he said, points up that there are really two Americas in the hemisphere — the America of the Kennedys, the Morgenthau and Rockefellers, and the America, not only of the Cuban peasant, but of the poor and exploited in this country. A man cannot serve two masters, he went on. No candidate can represent both the oppressor and the oppressed, the discriminator and those discriminated against, the boss and the worker.

The SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, Carl Feingold, emphasized that at this time of continuing crisis, when the Cuban Revolution still remained in grave danger and the threat of war still hovered over the world, the largest and most united protest vote was an urgent necessity. He was saddened, he went on, that at such a time there were some who still indulged in attacks on the only candidates defending the Cuban Revolution while at the same time they were giving left-handed support to the Democratic Party, a party committed to the destruction of that revolution.

The meeting also heard brief remarks by Sylvia Weinstein, SWP candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Leroy McRae, candidate for Attorney General, and Allen Taplin, candidate for Controller. Dave Van Ronk, well-known country-blues singer, provided entertainment.

... Our Principles Are Powerful, Long-Range Weapons

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And we should say that here openly.

In addition, another thing yet more moving, at least which has made a very deep impression on me. And that is the Soviet men, the Soviet men whom we have known here, the technicians who have come here to work with us, on our farms, teachers, professors, engineers, planners, technicians of all types. The interest, the tenacity with which they have tried to help us. The love with which they have helped us.

In addition there are the military technicians. The military technicians, men who have always been ready to die here together with us. Who have helped us in instructing, in training, in preparing our military forces. Who for years have worked with us teaching our men to fight, to organize this formidable army which we have at the present time.

All the arms which they have sent us, the basic weapons of our armed forces are all weapons which the Soviet Union has sent us and for which the Soviet Union has not charged us.

I must say that several months ago the Soviet Union decided to cancel all armament debts owed by our country. There are some of these matters which are matters of a military nature, which it is important to treat with great care. At any rate I am going to explain something. For example, the strategic arms for our defense.

These strategic arms were not

the property of Cuba. This is not the case with the tanks and a whole series of other weapons which are our property. The strategic arms were not our property. In the agreements, by virtue of which those arms were sent to our country to strengthen our defenses in the face of the threats of attack, it was agreed that those strategic weapons, which are very complex and which require a very specialized personnel, should remain under the control of Soviet personnel and remain the property of the Soviet state. That is why, when the Soviet government decided to withdraw the weapons which were its property, we respected that decision.

I am explaining all this so that a few of the reasons for the withdrawal, which was decided upon by the Soviet Government, may be understood. And that is why I said that when we have a well-founded reason for being displeased with some act, some detail, we should remember, above all, how good and how generous, how noble and how friendly the Soviets have been with us. And I was speaking specifically of the technicians, of those men whom we have seen at our sides, ready to die, to sacrifice their lives in the defense of our country.

These are magnificent men. And it is for that reason that we should have, at this moment more than ever, appreciation for these men, affection for these men, respect for these men, we should be

grateful to these men. I believe that is the way we should act now.

That is what we should explain and, above all, we should conduct ourselves on a higher level than ever in moments like these, with more moral force than ever, with more true greatness than ever. Do not imagine that the withdrawal of the strategic weapons leaves us disarmed. This does not mean that we have disarmed. I can assure you that we have formidable means of defense at our disposal, very powerful means of defense, extraordinary means of defense.

The strategic arms will leave us. But all the other arms will stay in our country and they are very powerful means of defense with which we can face any situation. There should be no confusion about this. There is no reason to be confused and any confusion will pass away, little by little.

There is a matter which I want to emphasize today or, rather, an evaluation which I want to make. It is in reference to the people, to the way the people have conducted themselves in these days. I must say that the attitude of the people has surpassed all that the optimists could ever have imagined: in determination, in bravery, in discipline. I must say that thousands of men who had not joined the militia in these last four years of the revolution, who had not become militiamen, became militiamen during this crisis. I must say that thousands of people who had not belonged to mass organizations or to Committees to Defend the

Revolution joined these mass organizations during these days. I must say that the enemy was not able to count on allies of any kind inside our country.

I must say that in these days of grave crisis, it was not necessary to arrest anyone, absolutely no one. That, in addition, men and women, who criticized the revolution, showed their patriotic and revolutionary fiber in this hour of decision and they went to join a struggle, which according to all prospects was to be a serious struggle, a tremendous struggle, a struggle which could have been waged with conventional or with atomic arms.

The President of the United States tried to intimidate our people, this people whom he called a "captive people," when he said that we could be the target of atomic attack. And the result was that there were more militiamen than ever, more militant revolutionaries than ever.

I must say that the women went to work, the retired workers went to work to replace the men who are in the trenches. And I must say that despite the fact that this was the greatest mobilization of all, it was the one which affected production the least. Never, during a mobilization, was production maintained as in this instance. The discipline of the people, the ardor of the people, the bravery of the people, was truly impressive. The organization which our people acquired and above all, that was acquired by our revolution-

ary armed forces, the efficiency with which the command functioned, was truly impressive. This demonstrated how the revolution has created discipline, has formed a people.

The enemy, by harassing us, has disciplined us, has organized us, has toughened us. These four years of harassment have created a heroic people, a people who are more than Spartans. Because it is said that in Sparta the mothers bade goodby to their sons, saying: 'Return with your shield or upon it.' Such a people is an invincible people. Such a people, facing such difficult situations in such manner, with such serenity, so admirably, is a people which has the right to achieve what it desires, which is peace, respect, and to maintain intact its dignity and its prestige.

Because we possess long-range moral missiles which cannot be dismantled and which will never be dismantled. And that is our strategic weapon — the most powerful strategic weapon of defense or offense.

And that is why I want to take note here, more than ever, of our admiration for our people, and all revolutionaries should feel doubly obligated as a result of this experience to struggle for our people, to work indefatigably for our people. And I want to say here from the bottom of my heart — in conclusion I want to say — that today more than ever I am proud to be a son of this people. *Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!*